[For additional information on the growth of business and industrial organization see category 433, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
Central Kerala Nayar

itself a separate caste. The Cochin lineage claimed descent from the Perumals and ranked as Kshattriyas, the second of the four divisions of all-India Hindu society. The Walluvanad, Palghat, and Calicut lineages, once vassals of the Perumals, were not strictly recognized as Kshattriyas in Brahmin theory and held the title of Samantans. Normally, the oldest man in each royal lineage held the kingship and administered customary law with assistance from Brahman advisers.

Each kingdom was divided into *nāds* (chiefdoms or districts). In the Zamorin's kingdom at the height of its power some of these chiefdoms had once been independent small kingdoms. They were conquered by Calicut in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. They continued to be ruled by their traditional monarchs, who paid tribute to Calicut. Among them were the chiefdoms of Beypore, Chaliyam, Parappanad, Bettem, and Punnattur. Each of these ruling lineages, although feudatory, retained a higher ritual rank than the Zamorin by virtue of its more ancient tradition of government. Similarly, some chiefdoms of the Cochin kingdom were governed by conquered feudatory rulers of higher ritual rank than the royal lineage. The small kingdoms of Walluvanad and Palghat, however, had no feudatories of higher rank than their royal lineages.

The other chiefdoms of a kingdom were ruled by hereditary Nayar chiefs (*nāduvaṛs*) originally appointed by the king, and these chiefs had more restricted powers than the feudatory monarchs. Most of them held the title of Samantan, but all were considered of lower ritual rank than their royal lineages. The Zamorin's kingdom (the largest) appears to have had twenty-eight such district chiefs in the fifteenth century. Each chiefly lineage, like each royal lineage, tended to regard itself as a separate caste acknowledging no peers.

Each chiefdom was divided into *dēsams* or villages. A village seems to have covered anything from one to four square miles, comprising both dry garden land and flats of alluvial rice land. Most of the land in each village was normally owned by one landlord family of higher ritual rank than the other occupants.

In some villages the land was owned by a Nambudiri patrilineal extended family, whose large house occupied a central position. In others it was owned by one or other branch of the royal lineage as part of the royal domain. There would then be a palace in the village and the senior prince of the household would act as village headman. In other villages the land was owned by the chiefly matrilineage of the district, whether this lineage were of feudatory royal rank or of vassal Samantan rank. Again in this case the chiefly family would live

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
Central Kerala Nayar

in a small palace and the head of it would fulfil the roles both of chief and of village headman. In other villages the land formed part of the estate of some large temple. These estates, called *sankētams*, were managed by assemblies of Nambudiris who held complete judicial rights over the lower-caste population. Finally, in yet other villages the land was owned by the matrilineage of a hereditary Nayar village headman (*dēsavari*) originally appointed by the king or by the chief of the district. The Nayar village headmen were drawn from castes ritually lower than those of their district chiefs. In Walluvaned and Calicut village headmen were usually drawn from the Kiriattil Nayar caste. The corresponding caste in Cochin was called Vellayma Nayars.

The landowning families in all of these villages were called *jenmis*. The eldest man of the extended family, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, had legal guardianship of his own family and, in another sense, of the village lands and inhabitants. He sanctioned marriages in all the castes, managed the land devoted to village temples, and paid the temple servants from its produce. A landlord family could not sell its land without the consent of the king and it usually remained on its site over many generations.

Villages were classifiable therefore as Brahman, temple, royal, chiefly, and Nayar headmen's villages. In some areas a group of villages of the same type might be adjacent to one another. In each village, subordinate to the landlord in ritual rank and administrative power, lived members of one or other caste of Nayar retainers or vassals. In modern times these castes have tended to combine as a single caste of "high-class Nayars," so that their former roles are difficult to determine. So far as I could discover they were as follows.

First, a caste called Kiriattil Nayars in Calicut and Vellayma Nayars in Cochin. Most village headmen's lineages were originally drawn from this caste, but after they had assumed office these lineages isolated themselves as a separate sub-caste of higher rank than ordinary Kiriattils. Ordinary Kiriattils appear to have been usually retainers in villages commanded by Nayar village headmen.

Second, a caste called Purattu Charna Nayars ("outdoor retainers") in Calicut. Its members usually lived in villages owned by a district chief or by the royal lineage. A special, higher-ranking subdivision of the caste called Paricchа Menons ("leaders of the shield") formed the Zamorin's private army and lived on royal land near Calicut.

Third, a caste called Agattu Charna Nayars ("indoor retainers") in Calicut. They also seem to have lived mainly in royal or chiefly vil-

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wil Kerala A Wil
Central Kerala Nayar

lages. The men were often clerks in the palaces. In Cochin, castes two and three were amalgamated and were called Swarupattil Sudra Nayars or "palace servants."

Fourth, a caste called Pallichan Nayars, both in Calicut and Cochin. Its members also were vassals in the villages of royalty, chiefs, and of the greater Brahmans. The men were often palanquin bearers as well as soldiers.

Fifth, a caste called Sudra Nayars in Calicut and Illath ("Brahman house") Sudras in Cochin. The members lived in villages owned by Brahman families or on the estates of Brahmanical temples.

The mutual ritual ranking of these five castes seems to have varied in different districts. In some districts they ranked in the order given, and men of a higher caste might marry women of a lower caste; the reverse was in theory forbidden. In other districts the castes seem to have disputed for precedence and not to have regularly intermarried. In most areas the five castes occupied different villages or different sections of large villages, seem to have had little communication in peacetime, and did not normally interdine. In war, however, soldiers of these different castes interdined freely and spent the night in each others' homes. It is possible that sexual restrictions between these castes were also relaxed in war, but this point is uncertain.

In each village there were normally some four to seven matrilineages of the appropriate retainer caste. The separate households or property groups within each lineage had the hereditary right, granted by the king, to occupy stretches of garden land and to lease large plots of wet paddy land on long-term tenure from the village landlord. The tenure was called *kānam;* the tenant, *a kānakkaran.* In most villages the men of retainer lineages also owed military service to their landlord, ultimately on behalf of the king. (The military organization is discussed below.) Retainers were called *adiyar,* a word equivalent to "vassals," of their landlord. They participated in his household ceremonies and often waited upon him. Women of retainer lineages could be summoned as serving maids in the landlord's family; men, as bailiffs to collect the landlord's rents and organize the labor of his serfs.

The Temple-Servant Castes In addition to the Nayars, other aristocratic castes often lived in a village. These were the temple servants, nowadays collectively called Ambalavasis. They are relevant to our discussion because they sometimes married Nayar women. The highest of these castes were the Chakkyars (or reciters of Puranic stories) and the Pushpagans (or flower gatherers for temples), which had patrilineal descent systems of the same type as the Nambudiris. They

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
Central Kerala Nayar

The Christians of Kerala numbered about 20 per cent of the population in 1931. The Syrian Christians, the most ancient and numerous group, may be descended from Persian Nestorians; they were trading on the coast at least by 525 A.D. (McCrindle, 1897: 119). Christians were and are concentrated in Travancore and Cochin. They received land grants near the ports and enjoyed virtual self-government provided they paid taxes to the kings (Logan, 1951, I: 260–270; III: cxxi–cxxvi). As landlords, tenants, and administrators—as well as traders—they ranked socially parallel to the Nayars and were served in the same manner by Hindu polluting castes and serfs. Their trade declined after the Arabs became dominant on the coast, and some of them began to serve in the royal armies along with Nayars. The Portuguese converted some Syrians to Roman Catholicism, but the converts still retained the Syriac rite. All Syrians were readily distinguishable from the lower-ranking Latin Catholics, converts to Catholicism from Portuguese times who were drawn from various polluting castes.

The Economic System

The principles of reciprocity and redistribution,[4] rather than of market trade, dominated the village economy until toward the mid-nineteenth century. In villages, castes were characterized by hereditary occupations and correspondingly by hereditary, differential rights in the produce of village lands (Logan, 1951, I: 110–112, 269, 270, 599–600, 623). The village landlord and the Nayar tenants were the main redistributive agents, collecting in goods from the lower orders and redistributing them in customary shares. In all village economic transactions, *households*, and not whole caste groups or individuals, were the units of interaction.

The village landlord's household "owned" almost all the land in the village. "Ownership" meant both more and less than modern Western landownership (Logan, 1951, I: 602–603). The landlord might not sell his land without the consent of the king or of a chief, and sale was restricted to families of appropriate caste. He might not evict his tenants, village servants, or serfs without their consent unless they committed grave crime (*ibid.*, I: 607). On the other hand, the landlord's ownership included judicial rights over the village population.

The landlord retained a portion of the land as his private domain for cultivation by his serfs. The rest was held by Nayar retainer households as non-cultivating tenants (*kānakkar*). The tenant's household

[4] For an analysis of the general operation of these principles in the Indian village economy, see Neale, 1957: 218–236.

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
Central Kerala Nayar

originally rendered a portion of the produce to the landlord and additionally paid tribute in kind at New Year and at the succession of a new landlord or a new tenant on the death of the old (*ibid.*, I: 605–614). In return for their hereditary land rights tenants owed military and personal services to the landlord or to his military representative.

Each Nayar tenant household, like the landlord, retained a portion of land for cultivation by its serfs. Serfs were attached to the plots on which they lived, took the house name of their masters and were held as ancestral property. The master supplied the serf with daily rice, building materials, a house site, and special gifts at life crises and festivals.

Each tenant household also gave some lands to cultivating subtenant households (*verumpāttamdar*) of the Tiyyar caste. According to Logan, the latter traditionally retained one-third of the net produce and surrendered the rest to their masters (*ibid.*, I: 583).

The Nayar servant castes and most of the polluting castes of village servants (astrologers, artisans, bow makers, basket makers, etc.) owed their main services to the landlord, the Nayar tenants, or both. Each family held the hereditary service right of a village or occasionally of a small group of adjacent villages. Village servants gave their services to the appropriate higher-caste households when required. In return they received from each patron household customary biennial shares of rice and other goods after the two harvests of the year. Each servant family held a house site and garden from the landlord by hereditary right and was provided by its various patrons with the materials (metal, wood, etc.) of its craft.

Among the higher polluting castes, most of the village servants (astrologers, artisans, washermen, barbers, etc.) simply exchanged services reciprocally without making gifts of grain. Within this range of castes, however, Tiyyars, as cultivators, were subsidiary agents of redistribution, for they received the services of almost all the village servant castes and made biennial gifts to them of grain.

The village was thus almost self-sufficient for food and the daily necessities of life. In addition, part of its produce in rice and coconuts went out in the form of annual tribute given by the landlord to his district chief. The chief in turn gave tribute to the king and in addition rendered succession fees and gifts at life-crisis rites (Logan, 1951, II: ccxviii–ccxix; Ayyar, 1938: 270).

A large part of the king's revenue, however, came from taxes on overseas trade. Before 1500 the trade was in the hands of Arab merchants, who obtained pepper and other spices from inland land-

8:Panikkar I-4, 5 (no date) 1918 AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

valent among them also. The more one looks into these matters the more one becomes clear that in the unorganised and uneducated human mind, be it "civilised" or be it primitive, there is a horizontal stratification of the most contradictory ideas, which lie absolutely undisturbed in the ordinary course of life. In the mind of the ordinary man whose *forte* is not clear thinking, a great deal of intermingling of such ideas might take place. It is no uncommon sight to see a thoroughly Hindu-ised Nāyar who talks about Absolutism and Illusion, and believes in them, paying a *Kāniyān* to get the devil out of his little niece. This is, perhaps, the truth which lies midway between those who assert, like Dr. Frazer, that magic and religion are hostile and cannot be reconciled, and those who, like Dr. Marett, hold that in their origin they are the same, that it is in their character as looked upon by society they differ. The view I have maintained here is that religion and magic are different in their psychological and emotional effects and that Dr. Frazer is right when he says that they are at bottom hostile. But the almost universal coexistence of magic and religion is due to the attitude of society which tolerates all contradictions and insists only on their effect being for social welfare.

VII.—THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE NĀYARS.

Occupation.—The Nāyars are at present an essentially agricultural population. The vast majority of them are peasant proprietors owning small farms. Rice and coco-nuts are the chief things cultivated, though in North Malabar pepper and cardoman have also their share.

With regard to these matters the Nāyars have attained a certain stage of excellence. Their coco-nut estates are planted with a considerable amount of scientific skill and they are proficient in the industries which are allied to coco-nut cultivation; such as coir-matting, copra making and extraction of coco-nut oil. The extreme fertility of the land has made agricutural chemistry, as far as coco-nut and rice cultivation are concerned, a matter of secondary importance; and even to-day there are very few Nāyars who have studied the Western methods of agriculture.

As each Nāyar family generally lives in a compound of its own, coco-nut cultivation is generally in small farms. Extensive coco-nut plantations owned by the same man are very few. The position is much like that in England before the Enclosures. Even if all the land in a particular area is owned by the same person it is seldom enclosed and transformed into one large estate. On the other hand, they continue to be regarded as separate compounds and the houses on them are generally occupied either by Nāyar tenants or by Pulaya slaves.

The fact that Nāyar families live in garden houses is one of great significance. Horticulture is practised with great interest in all families, rich as well as poor. It is, in fact, very seldom that any Nāyar family uses vegetables bought from the market.

10:Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

[p. 17]

The Nayar Family in a Disintegrating Matrilineal System[1]

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Introduction

IN this short essay, I will present one case of the disintegration of a Nayar *tarwad* (matrilineal joint family), based on the materials collected by myself.

The general institutional system of a traditional Nayar *tarwad* is already well known, and has been much discussed recently by anthropologists, including K. Gough.[2] Here I state it briefly as a preface to the main discussion. A traditional Nayar *tarwad* was a property group consisting of a matrilineal lineage exclusively, headed and represented by the senior male member, called *karanavan*. Normally the members of a *tarwad* formed a distinguishable domestic unit. Spouses of the members of a *tarwad* resided in the *tarwad* where they were born, and a husband visited his wife at her *tarwad* at night and returned early morning.[3] The father had no duty or obligation on his own children, instead, the *karanavan* was the legal guardian of the offspring of the female members of the *tarwad*.

The Nayars are one of the Hindu upper castes in Kerala, next to the Nambudri Brahman, and traditionally the majority of the Nayars had been land holders or managers, not cultivators. On such a social and economic base, the function of the *tarwad* had been maintained. Various factors have led to the disintegration of the *tarwad* system, the major cause of which, I think, was the economic changes accompanied by modernization since the beginning of the

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1 This essay is one of the outcomes of my field work on matrilineal systems in India (1955–56) carried out by the generous grant of the Elin Wagner Foundation in Sweden, to which my profound acknowledgement goes. Also I am very thankful for the help of Dr. John Mogey.

2 E. Kathleen Gough: "Changing kinship usages in the setting of political and economic change among the Nayars of Malabar," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.* 82, pp. 71–87; "A comparison of incest prohibitions and the rules of exogamy in three matrilineal groups of the Malabal," *International Achives of Ethnography*, Vol. XLVI, Part I, 1952, pp. 82–105.

3 The *karanavan* was an exception: he could take his wife and children in his *tarwad*. In North Malabar, not only the *karanavan*, but also other male members used to take their wives and children to their *tarwad*. However, these wives, including children, had to leave their husband's *tarwad*, as soon as their husband died.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

acres to 270,625 acres. This is a proof of the growing popularity of rubber cultivation in Kerala. Increase has also been registered in the tapped area. During 1951–56, the tapped area increased by about 50 per cent (99,120 to 150,000 acres), though the acreage under rubber increased only by 25 per cent. A higher rate of increase in case of tapped area has been caused by maturing of trees planted before 1951.

2.106 *Distribution of Holdings*: The increase in the number of holdings since 1951 has been much more than the increase in acreage under rubber. There were 50,000 estates in 1958 as against 9,026 in 1951. The increase was roughly 500 per cent as against an increase in the area by about 100 per cent only. The consequence is that today rubber industry in Kerala is marked by the existence of a large number of small-size family estates. The increase in area under small estates is not a healthy trend, as these are uneconomic and have low productivity.

2.107 *Production and Yields*: During 1958, the total production of rubber in Kerala was 22,200 tons. The production has been steadily rising at a rate of 8.2 per cent per annum which is indeed a very high rate when compared with growth in the gross agricultural production. (Table 13)

2.108 In 1958 the yield per acre of rubber in Kerala was 294 lbs. which is very low when compared to the yields in Malaya, Ceylon, Indonesia and other rubber growing countries. Compared to 1958, the yield in 1951 was slightly higher standing at 312 lbs. per acre. The decline in yield was partly due to the transfer of Kanyakumari district, which was a high yielding region, to Madras after the reorganization of the States. Partly it was also due to large scale new planting in all the districts except Trichur.

2.109 A significant fact about land productivity is the wide difference in yield rates between big and small estates. In 1958, the average yield of holdings of below 100 acres was only 162 lbs. per acre while in larger holdings it was 486 lbs.

2.110 Low productivity in smaller gardens is due to the inefficient and unscientific manner in which the estates are managed and lack of resources at the disposal of these estate owners. Scientific and efficient management of rubber gardens requires manuring of gardens, periodic renewal of fences, clearance of under-growth, control of soil erosion, etc. For carrying out these operations, it is necessary to have a large fund of working capital which the small growers do not possess. Small growers, particularly those with 10 acres and less, have very little sustaining power and cannot wait for the trees to attain maturity. Consequently, premature tappings and slaughter tappings are too common among the small estates. The small holders are also tempted to grow an understorey when the plants are young and for that they generally prefer tapioca as it is a food crop with high yields. Under cropping even when properly manured, is not good for the soil but when it is considered along with inadequate manuring, the harm can well be imagined. This type of mismanagement generally does not occur in large plantations. It is high time that something is done to improve the situation. Measures such as amalgamating small units into an economic size and working them on a cooperative basis would perhaps meet the needs. The matter should be further investigated and followed up by suitable action.

2.111 The low yield per acre is also due to the cultivation of low yielding varieties and over-ageing of trees. The Rubber Board reported that at the end of 1955, 80

[see p. 278, category 116 -- Analysis]

Transport

5.46 The entire coastline of Kerala is well served by the railways. From Trivandrum to Kayankulam and from Tirur to Manjeswar, a total distance of 220 miles, the tracks are only two to three miles from the sea coast. In addition, there is a motorable road running almost all along the entire coastline. Head loads, bicycles, motor lorries, all these modes are employed for the transportation of fish to the markets depending on the distance of the landing sites from the consuming centres.

5.47 The State Fisheries Department operates four insulated vans. In addition, the Department operates two insulated carrier boats, one from Cochin and the other from Azhikode. These boats transport iced-fish through the inland waters to the interior places. For the marketing of fish in the interior areas, the Indo-Norwegian Project operates eight refrigerated vans.

5.48 It is estimated that the State will require about 60 road vehicles and 20 carrier vessels during the next 10 years. The capital expenditure on these is expected to be about Rs. 40 lakhs, of which Rs. 15 lakhs would be required during the Third Plan. The trucks and carrier vessels should, as far as possible, be owned and operated by Fishermen's Cooperative Societies. Expansion of insulated wagon facilities on the railways will be equally necessary. Insulated wagons should be provided on routes connecting the major production centres with the consumption centres.

Marketing

5.49 The marketing of fish in Kerala is not well organized. At present it is controlled by a few moneylenders and fish merchants. The fishermen are very poor and have generally to depend on borrowings during the off season. A departmental survey reveals that in 1958 the fishermen in Kerala had total assets of only about Rs. 30 lakhs against a total debt of Rs. 135 lakhs. Only a small percentage of the fishermen in Kerala own the boats and nets they use. Most of them work as employees under few boat-owner fishermen. In the pay-off period the boat-owner advances small amounts to the fishermen for their day-to-day needs. The catch is auctioned at the landing centres. The bidders include the fish curers, the retailers and lorry owners, who generally supply fish to the retailers.

5.50 Fish prices fluctuate considerably even in the course of the day. Fish is never weighed in the market. They are measured by standards such as heap, basket, and number, and these vary from market to market. The important wholesale fish markets in the State are located at Trivandrum, Kottayam, Tonur, Trichur, Kozhikode, Alwaye, Changanacherry and Athirumpuzha.

5.51 Changanacherry, Athirumpuzha and Vaniyankulam are the most important markets for cured and salted fish. In the coastal areas the consumption of dried fish is confined mostly to the off-season when fishing totally stops. In the interior of the State, owing to lack of transport facilities, cured fish is sold for the major part of the year. The State has a number of retail fish markets, every town or a group of villages having at least one.

5.52 Fish marketing in Kerala requires a great deal of improvement, both

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

*433 317 6.10 The present method of working these sands is haphazard and extremely short-sighted. The dunes are getting exhausted while the washings are dependent on a good monsoon. A better method would be to work the sand bar itself. This would also be in the interests of (*i*) conservation and (*ii*) ensuring a regular supply of raw sand independent of the vagaries of nature. Even if working of the sand bar suggested above is not taken up now, back filling of pools with sand tailings from mineral sand companies would prove beneficial. It would lead to building up of sand rich in heavy minerals, other than ilmenite. At present the tailings which contain 80 per cent of the original rutile and all the sillimanite and zircon, are dumped into the sea.

317 328 471 655 6.11 The extraction of ilmenite is done by the mineral sand companies at Chavara. Till recently there were four units, namely, two units belonging to the Travancore Minerals, one to F.X. Pereira Minerals and one to Hopkins and Williams. These concerns were all under private ownership till 1945. Realizing the strategic importance of these sands, the Travancore State assumed control of the sand deposits during that year ; and the mineral concerns continued to work as agents on behalf of the State. A few years later, however, the Travancore Minerals (1951) and F.X. Pereira Minerals (1956) were taken over by the State Government and run directly as State enterprises.

*433 317 328 471 6.12 Hopkins and Williams, however, continued in private hands till 1959. By this time some difficulties cropped up with labour. The firm had also accumulated vast arrears of royalty to the tune of Rs. 28 lakhs. At this stage the management decided to close down the unit. In the interim period their export contracts had also lapsed. As a result of all these developments, there are two mineral concerns at present operating three units, whose total capacity is 1,60,000 tons. In view of the reduced foreign demand for Indian ilmenite, closure of Hopkins and Williams has not created any serious problem.

*433 317 328 461 6.13 The output per man per shift works out to 0.41 ton at the Travancore Minerals Plant and 0.40 ton in the F.X. Pereira unit ; whereas in the Hopkins and Williams plant, now closed, the output per man per shift was around one ton. This was partly due to a better layout of the machine. In the existing plants much effort and material is lost in transportation from one unit to another. In addition, excessive labour appears to be employed in the plant of the Travancore Minerals (P) Ltd.

*433 317 328 6.14 The production of ilmenite rose from 216,000 tons in 1950, to a peak of 314,000 tons in 1956. Since then it has been fairly steady between 270,000 and 290,000 tons. The value has also been going up from Rs. 33 lakhs in 1950 to Rs. 170 lakhs in 1959. The present price is Rs. 60 per ton.

317 328 386 6.15 Ilmenite is mainly used in the manufacture of TiO_2 (titanium) white pigment. TiO_2 is used in various other industries like paper, delustrant in rayons, rubber compositions, plastics, printing inks, cosmetics, etc. Titanium metal is not widely used mainly because of its high cost of production.

*[433] 6.16 Only a very small portion of the production of ilmenite is consumed within the State in the manufacture of TiO_2. The Travancore Titanium Products Ltd., Trivandrum, utilize about 3,000 tons of this mineral. This plant is expanding its capacity to 10 tons a day by 1961, and will then require 6,000 tons of ilmenite. The

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll

"Europeanism" further enhanced its influence in Malabar with the introduction of new industries and capitalistic enterprise. The coconut, cashew nut and coir industries employ thousands today and have created amongst the people an even greater dependence on the fluctuations of world prices than in the days of the pepper trade. Weaving, tile factories (such as the one founded by the Basel Mission), saw-mills, match factories and metal industries have given many people a new outlook on life which they could never have had in the old days, and has profoundly changed their traditional concepts. Prohibition introduced by the Congress Party Government, with its consequent forbidding of the ancient profession of toddy tapping, has thrown many Tiyas out of work, obliging them to seek their livelihood elsewhere, and modifying for this reason the traditional structure of their economy and family life.

Greater and better medical facilities, as well as a growth in industrial productivity, have brought about a correspondingly sharp rise in the population, so much so, indeed, that today Kerala ranks first in density to the square mile out of the whole of India. Agricultural prosperity has unfortunately not kept pace with this advance, making it often difficult for everyone to obtain food, especially when the monsoon fails, as it often does in the latter part of the year. Foodstuffs, especially grain, have thus to be imported from outside, and when this is not sufficient, many seek work in other parts of the world, leaving their families for years at a time, to emigrate and hire themselves out as labourers in Ceylon, Singapore, and the Malay Federation.

It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that the old order in Kerala has crumbled. Of the rajas and maharajas of old, none are any longer in positions of responsibility, those of Cochin and Travancore having also been made destitute by the recent re-arrangement of States in India. The Nambudri Brahmins are, perhaps, those who, because of their priestly character, continue more than anyone else, to lead the ancient, traditional life. Many of them, however, have gone in for the new enterprises, and if they do not always themselves own and direct them, they have invested funds in them. The younger members of the *illams* appear to be increasingly dissatisfied with their lot, and do not seem prepared to accept the old imperatives of occupation and succession. It may not, after all be just a coincidence that the Communist Party Government now in power in Kerala is headed by a Nambudri Brahmin.

The Nayar caste is no doubt the one that has been the hardest hit by the sweeping changes brought about by altered conditions. But its

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Kerala AWII

Other Occupations

Fishing, both sea and freshwater, plays a big part in the life of Kerala but, as usual in India, is primitive in technique and organisation. It has, however, some interesting features: Portuguese influence is obvious in the so-called 'China nets' and the crossbow used for shooting fish from river-banks,[46] and there are many varieties of basket-work fish-traps. The catch of 'sardines' is largely used for manuring coconut; prawns are taken in flooded paddy-fields, the skins used as manure and the pulped flesh exported. Normally Burma was a good customer for prawns; the time of transport raised no difficulty as a high degree of putrescence was regarded with favour.

Travancore has a hydro-electric plant at Pallivasal on the Mudrapuzha River, with a capacity of 21,000 kW which can be increased to 36,000. The power is used for the industries of Cochin town and Ernakulam, of which the production of soap and cosmetics from copra is the most important. It also powers the sole Indian aluminium works, at Alwaye, formerly dependent on imported alumina but now increasingly supplied from Muri in Bihar (591 above); and a recent development is the use of electric pumps for 'de-watering' the *cole* lands. The great reservoir impounding the Periyar headwaters was built to supply irrigation water, by tunnel, to the Madras side, but may possibly be developed for power in the future.

Except for local clays and laterite, the only mineral deposits are the ilmenite, monazite, and zircon sands of the Travancore beaches from Quilon to Cape Comorin. These contain 8–10% thorium oxide and were exploited for the manufacture of gas mantles; the spread of electric lighting ruined this demand, but there has been a remarkable recovery. Titania from the ilmenite and cerium from the monazite are essential to some highly specialised electrical and chemical manufactures (electrodes, tracer bullets, and as a catalyst in benzine synthesis, amongst others) and recent developments in atomic research have made these deposits of great strategic significance. Production, which in 1925 fell to one hundred-weight of monazite, amounted in 1944 to 200,000 tons ilmenite, 2000 monazite, and 1600 zircon.

Population and Settlement

Population problems are very serious in Kerala; the density of Cochin in 1941 was the highest for any political unit in India—953 on a total area of 1493 sq mls—locally reaching 2000–4000 in a purely rural environment. Elankunnapuzha village had in 1941 no fewer than 18,173 people on its 3·8 sq mls—a density of 4782. The rate of increase has been very high—for

[46] A. K. Menon, "Fisheries of Cochin" (*IGJ* XIV (1939)), 229–36; C. D. Forde, *op. cit.*, 269.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kerala AW11
Laccadives AZ4
Maldives AZ5

Day 1500 Cabral arrived, and from then until the Dutch supplanted them in 1663 the Portuguese were in alliance with the rulers of Cochin against the Muslim Zamorin of Calicut. The port has considerable locational advantages: it is central on the backwaters, the Palghat Gap lies about 125 miles (by rail) to the NE, and it is about 300 miles nearer Aden and Durban than is Bombay. It may even rival Colombo as a transit port, as a call at Cochin adds only 40 miles to the Aden-Fremantle run.[52] The development of the modern port was for long impeded by its curious political situation; it lies on a breach in the long spit separating the great backwater from the sea, but while the major installations and the approaches lie in what was British territory, the inner harbour—in which much of the trade is carried on—is in Cochin state, and much of the backwater was Travancorean. Real development—including the cutting of a channel through the bar across the natural breach, and much reclamation—began only in 1920–23; later a 3-mile approach channel was dredged to a width of 450 and a depth of 37 ft, so that the inner harbour is now accessible to any ship which can pass Suez. Rail and road bridges cross the backwater, and a large airport has been built on reclaimed land; the old metre line to the SIR through the Palghat has been changed to BG. The volume of trade increased from 450,000 tons in 1920 to about 1,250,000 in 1950, while the number of ships using the port has more than trebled. Normally rice from Burma and Indo-China formed two-fifths in bulk of the total trade; mineral oil is also a major import. The exports are the usual Kerala ones: coconut products, especially coir and copra, tea, rubber, cashew nuts. Across the backwater is Ernakulam (46,790), capital of Cochin, with important soap factories, the largest owned (naturally) by Tatas: rice milling, as at Mattancherri, is also important. Trichur (57,524), the largest town of Cochin, has cotton spinning and weaving mills and tile factories; it shares with Palghat (55,160) command of the gap.

Travancore is less urbanised than Cochin, but Trivandrum (**186,931**) is the capital of Travancore–Cochin state. Alleppey (**116,278**) and Quilon are ports of ancient fame now decayed; mere roadsteads, they still carry on a considerable backwater traffic. Alleppey, protected by a mudbank, is slightly the better port, but Quilon has the advantage of its situation on the metre line from Trivandrum through the Shencottah Gap.

The Maldive and Laccadive Islands

These groups of coral atolls extend from the Equator to about 15° N, 180–300 miles from the Malabar coast. The Laccadives and Minicoy are attached to Madras, the Maldives (which have their own Sultan and constitutional government) to Ceylon: these affiliations represent historical accident merely.

[52] *Handbook of Commercial Information for India* (Delhi, 1937), 79; personal information from Sir Robert Bristow.